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ABSTRACT

The Center for Social Organization of Schools has two objectives: to develop a scientific knowledge of how schools affect their students, and to use this knowledge to develop better school practices and organization. One of the three programs sponsored by the center is the Schools and Maturity Program. It is studying the effects of school, family, and peer group experiences on the development of attitudes consistent with psychosocial maturity. The objectives of the program are to formulate, assess, and research important educational goals other than traditional academic achievement. This report contains three papers on psychosocial maturity entitled: (1) Psychosocial Maturity and the Social Environment, (2) Attitudes Toward Self and Society, and (3) the Phenomenological World of the Mature Adolescent. A bibliography of the Schools and Maturity program is also provided. (Author/PC)

GROWING UP: THE DEVELOPMENT OF PSYCHOSOCIAL MATURITY

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Baltimore, Maryland

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

The Center for Social Organization of Schools has two primary objectives: to develop a scientific knowledge of how schools affect their students, and to use this knowledge to develop better school practices and organization.

The Center works through three programs to achieve its objectives. The Schools and Maturity program is studying the effects of school, family, and peer group experiences on the development of attitudes consistent with psychosocial maturity. The objectives are to formulate, assess, and research important educational goals other than traditional academic achievement. The School Organization program is currently concerned with authority-control structures, task structures, reward systems, and peer group processes in schools. The Careers program (formerly Careers and Curricula) bases its work upon a theory of career development. It has developed a self administered vocational guidance device and a self-directed career program to promote vocational development and to foster satisfying curricular decisions for high school, college, and adult populations.

This report, prepared by the Schools and Maturity program, contains three papers on psychosocial maturity presented as a symposium at the annual convention of the American Psychological Association, New Orleans, August, 1974.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

We are grateful to Rosemary Hollick and Marie Makurath for their valuable assistance in each of the researches comprising the symposium.

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Introduction to the Symposium

Ellen Greenberger

The concept of psychosocial maturity is an attempt to describe the point to which the processes of growth, socialization and development ideally lead. The concept incorporates biological, sociological and psychological views of what constitutes a mature organism.

In the biological view, maturity means the capacity of the individual to survive in the average expectable physical environment and to promote species survival by reproduction. The sociological view of maturity also stresses survival -- in this case, of the society. Mature individuals are ones who have attributes that promote the continued existence of the society over time -- for example, through common language, thought patterns and values. The psychological view of maturity stresses the simultaneous development of the person toward self-sufficiency and social relatedness. To the degree that this type of development is conducive to mental health, we could also say that the psychological view of maturity is concerned with survival.

The model of psychosocial maturity outlined in Table 1 tries to weave these threads together. The implicit themes of this model are the survival of the person, at a high level of development, and the survival of the society. The model lists three general dimensions of maturity: the capacity to function adequately on one's own (Individual Adequacy); the capacity to interact adequately with others (Interpersonal Adequacy); and the capacity to contribute to social cohesion (Social Adequacy). These can be seen as universal attributes of the psychosocially mature individual, or universal demands made on individuals who have completed the major period of growth, development and socialization. We have also defined a minimum set of attributes that seem relevant to each of the three

general capacities. This list is specific to our own culture, rather than general in nature.

The concept sketched here has been translated into a self-report attitude inventory with nine subscales. Sample items are shown in Table 2. The inventory was designed for use from grades 5 through the end of high school, and extensive scale development has taken place on large samples at three grade levels (5, 8, and 11). All scales are now available in both long and short forms, consisting of about 20 items in the former and 10 items in the latter. Both long and short forms have adequate reliability at all three grade levels, with a few exceptions. Validity studies of these scales are encouraging. A sampling of such studies follows:

(1) 11th graders score significantly higher than 5th graders on all nine scales. This over-time improvement is consistent with our view of psychosocial maturity as a developmental variable, and therefore relevant to the construct validity of the Psychosocial Maturity Inventory. (We are now pursuing such findings through longitudinal rather than cross-sectional designs.)

(2) Scores on the three scales of the Individual Adequacy subset are positively related to measures of self-esteem and negatively related to anxiety. These findings are consistent with the validity of the construct, "Individual Adequacy."

(3) Scores on the three scales of the Social Adequacy subset are positively associated with adolescents' participation in social action projects, such as tutoring of inner-city youngsters.

This finding is consistent with the construct of "Social Adequacy," which emphasizes an investment in enhancing the cohesion or solidarity of the larger social group.

(4) Teachers' nominations of children who are high on PSM-related traits are significantly associated with children's scores on the Inventory.

The validity of the model itself -- that is, the arrangement of psychosocial maturity into three dimensions, each with three components (see Table 1) -- has also been tested. A Principal Components Analysis of the inventory has best supported the existence and integrity of the first and third dimensions of PSM -- Individual Adequacy and Social Adequacy -- and so the papers of this session will focus on these two aspects of psychosocial maturity. For purposes of this symposium, the term Individual Adequacy refers to the sum of a youngster's scores on self-reliance, identity, and work orientation. The term Social Adequacy refers to the sum of the scores on social commitment, tolerance, and openness to socio-political change.

Our ongoing research with the Psychosocial Maturity Inventory is intended to uncover family, peer and institutional effects on development toward psychosocial maturity. Today's symposium represents portions of our three first efforts in these directions. The three papers examine (1) the influence of individual and school characteristics on Individual Adequacy and on Social Adequacy; (2) the demographic and family characteristics of youngsters with four patterns or types of psychosocial maturity; and (3) the phenomenological world of adolescents who score high and those who score low on the Psychosocial Maturity Inventory.

Table 1

Detailed Model of Psychosocial Maturity

Individual Adequacy

Self-Reliance

absence of excessive need for social validation
sense of control
initiative

Work-Orientation

general work skills
standards of competence
pleasure in work

Identity

clarity of self-concept
consideration of life goals
self-esteem
internalized values

Interpersonal Adequacy

Communication Skills

ability to encode messages
ability to decode messages
empathy

Enlightened Trust

rational dependence
rejection of simplistic views of human nature
awareness of constraints on trustworthiness

Knowledge of Major Roles

role-appropriate behavior
management of role conflict

Social Adequacy

Social Commitment

feelings of community
willingness to modify personal goals in favor of social goals
readiness to form alliances
interest in long-term social goals

Openness to Socio-political Change

general openness to change
recognition of costs of status quo
recognition of costs of change

Tolerance of Individual and Cultural Differences

willingness to interact with people who differ from the norm
sensitivity to the rights of people who differ from the norm
awareness of costs and benefits of tolerance

Table 2

Sample Items from Psychosocial Maturity Scales[a]

Subscale	Item
Self-Reliance (SR)	You are probably wrong if your friends are against what you decide. (-)
	Someone often has to tell me what to do. (-)
Work Orientation (W)	I believe in working only as hard as I have to. (-)
	If something more interesting comes along, I will usually stop anything I'm doing. (-)
Identity (I)	I change the way I feel and act so often that I sometimes wonder who the "real" me is. (-)
	I have to struggle to keep my behavior what it ought to be. (-)
Communication Skills (C)	People find it hard to figure me out from what I say. (-)
	In a discussion, I often find it hard to understand what people are trying to say. (-)
Roles (R)	Teachers should not expect as much homework from athletes who have to spend a lot of time at practice. (-)
	If you're upset with someone at home, you can't be expected to be nice to people at school. (-)
Enlightened Trust (TR)	If people are picked in a fair way to be on a trial jury, they are sure to reach a fair decision. (-)
	I find it hard to ask even my good friends for help. (-)
Social Commitment (SC)	It's not really my problem if my neighbors are in trouble and need help. (-)
	Why work for something others will enjoy if you won't be alive to enjoy it too? (-)
Tolerance (TOL)	If I had a choice, I would prefer a blood transfusion from a person of the same skin color as mine. (-)
	I feel a little sorry for people whose ideas about God are different from mine. (-)
Openness To Change (CH)	If everyone is to be really equal, some people will have fewer advantages than they have now. (+)
	Women should not be elected to top government positions. (-)

[a] A minus sign following an item indicates that the "mature" response lies in the direction of disagreement; a plus sign indicates that the "mature" response lies in the direction of agreement with the item.

Psychosocial Maturity and the Social Environment

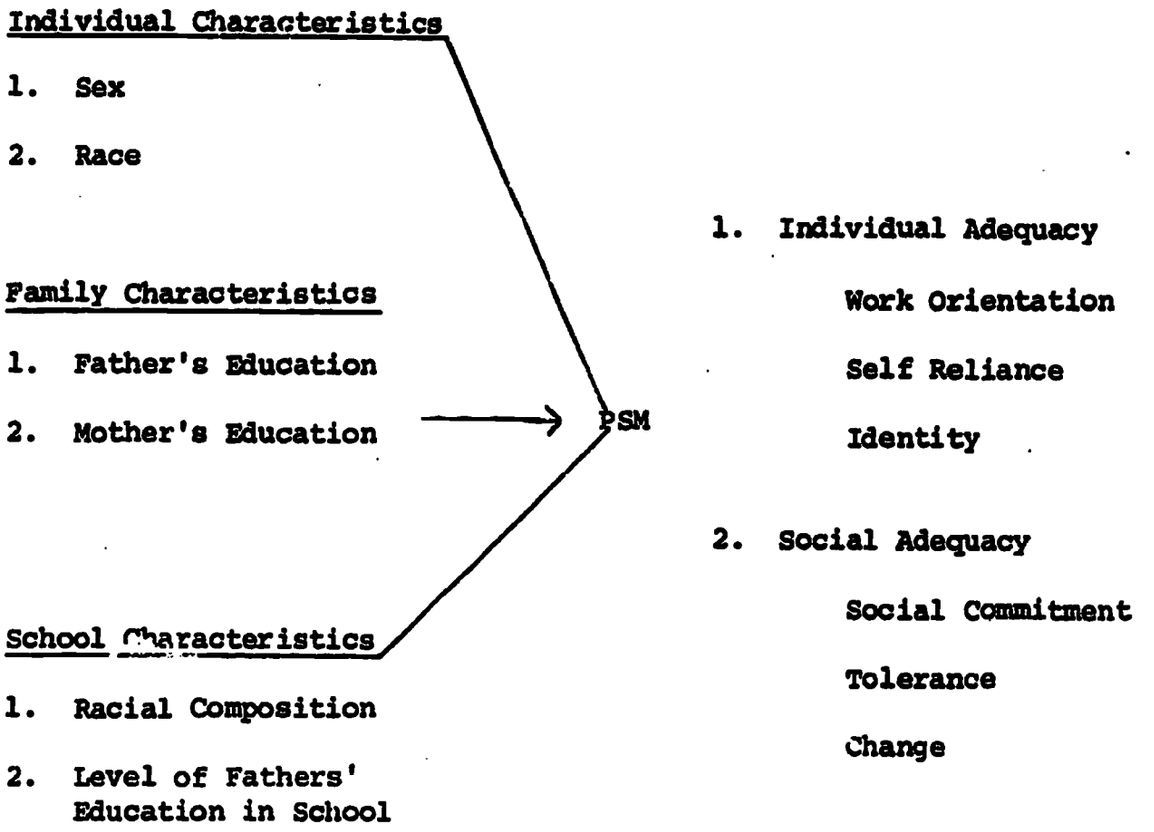
Daniel McConochie

Research on the sources of variations in socialization outcomes has focussed on a wide variety of individual and environmental characteristics and their interactions. Theoretically, our group has assumed that individual characteristics, acquired genetically and through previous social interaction, interact during adolescence with new socialization experiences and maturing mental and physical capabilities to produce unique individual levels of Psychosocial Maturity. Because the social experience of young people is patterned by the social structures of their culture, we have looked to variations in social structure as one important source of variation in Psychosocial Maturity. One aspect of our investigation of Psychosocial Maturity during adolescence has therefore been a search for systematic variations in Psychosocial Maturity associated with individual and family characteristics (such as race, sex, and parental education) and school characteristics (such as the racial composition of the child's school). In future investigations each of these broad categories will be examined in closer detail for the components and processes contributing to its relationship with the various dimensions of Psychosocial Maturity.

To date, using data collected from a 1973 questionnaire survey of 3000 students at the 5th, 8th and 11th grades in South Carolina schools, the personal, family and school characteristics presented in Figure 1 have been examined for systematic associations with each of the Psychosocial Maturity subscales.

This paper reports the results of multivariate analyses using these individual family and school characteristics as independent variables and the two summary measures, Individual Adequacy and Social Adequacy, as dependent variables. Results from the 8th grade students will be presented. The following section describes the sample, characteristics of the 8th grade South Carolina Schools, and the data collection procedures.

Figure 1


Individual Characteristics
1. Sex
2. Race
Family Characteristics
1. Father's Education
2. Mother's Education
School Characteristics
1. Racial Composition
2. Level of Fathers' Education in School
PSM
1. Individual Adequacy
Work Orientation
Self Reliance
Identity
2. Social Adequacy
Social Commitment
Tolerance
Change

Method

Subjects

A total of 903 eighth graders from 8 schools participated in the 8th grade study. These students were part of a larger sample of students in the 5th, 8th and 11th grades of public schools in South Carolina. Schools were selected in a stratified random sample and within each school a sample of students was selected to take the questionnaire. Stratification dimensions for selection of the schools were grade, degree of urbanness and racial balance.[1]

There are two urban schools, two urban-rural schools and 4 rural schools in the final sample. The actual percentage of blacks enrolled in each school, as reported by the school principal, is presented in Table 1 along with other characteristics that provide a context for viewing the effects of individual and school characteristics on PSM. The per pupil expenditure of the school and the level of poverty in the school district were dropped from this analysis because of inadequate variation among the schools in our final sample or because other measurement difficulties were uncovered. Because the number of schools in the sample is not large, we will not attempt to generalize to a larger population of schools.

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[1] "Urban" was defined as inclusion in one of the four SMSA's in South Carolina: Greenville, Charleston, Columbia or Spartanburg. "Urban/Rural" included places with 2,500 inhabitants or more, but lying outside the SMSA's. "Rural" included all schools in places other than those defined Urban or Urban/Rural.

The racial balance dimension used to select the schools included three broad categories:

0 - 24% Black Enrollment
25 - 74% Black Enrollment
75 - 100% Black Enrollment

Table 1

School Profiles

School ID	N	Percent Black In School	Percent Below Poverty Living in District	Per Pupil Expenditure	Rural-Urban	Sex Male	Sex Female
2	115	30%	26%	$638	Urban	45%	55%
3	220	35%	20%	$638	Urban/Rural	49%	51%
9	249	23%	24%	$637	Urban	51%	49%
10	96	14%	22%	$637	Rural	49%	51%
15	30	84%	37%	$651	Urban/Rural	40%	60%
21	54	88%	52%	$625	Rural	50%	50%
26	63	58%	20%	$668	Rural	44%	56%
27	76	32%	34%	$668	Rural	50%	50%

Data Collection

Students were asked to agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with statements written to assess the various dimensions of PSM. The item analyses, validity studies, and the hierarchial and principal components factor analyses used to develop the separate scales have been described in earlier papers (Bond et al., 1974; Greenberger et al., 1974).[1]

Responses to these items, as well as background information on parental education and the student's sex and race, were marked by the student on optically scannable answer sheets. The principal of each school supplied additional information on school characteristics including the percentage of black children enrolled.

Dependent Variables

The first dependent variable is Individual Adequacy (IA), a measure of the person's ability to function adequately on his or her own. Analyses were conducted on the subscales, Work Orientation, Self-Reliance and Identity, and on the IA summary measure. Because the results for the three subscales are similar to those found when using the more inclusive Individual Adequacy measure, the analyses of the subscales are not discussed in this paper.

The second dependent variable, Social Adequacy (SA), is made up of three sub-scales measuring Social Commitment, Tolerance and Openness to Change. Analyses were conducted on each subscale and on the SA summary measure. Only the results of the analyses of the summary measure are reported here.

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[1] Full references for these papers may be found in Section E, Bibliography of the Schools and Maturity Program.

Data Analyses

In the analysis of this first survey we have attempted to identify variations in the distribution of IA and SA in the 8th grade sample which could guide us in later studies of the processes by which IA and SA are acquired. We have used multiple regression analyses in order to measure the relative influence of individual and school characteristics and to begin the process of building multivariate models of the influences on Individual Adequacy and Social Adequacy.

Initial analyses showed that there was a great deal of interaction between race and many of the other individual and school characteristics used to predict variations in Individual Adequacy and Social Adequacy. Because we were interested in the possibly different sources of PSM for black and white students, and because we were aware of these interactions between race and several of the family and school characteristics, separate regression analyses were run for black and white students.

For each group we present separate results for: 1) multiple regression models of the relative influence of individual, family and school characteristics on IA and SA; and 2) multivariate graphs of mean PSM scores for variables which continue to interact in their relationships to the PSM scales.

Results

Multivariate Analysis of Individual Adequacy

Table 2 presents the standardized regression coefficients for IA and Sex, Father's Education, Mother's Education and the two school characteristics, Racial Composition and Father's Educational Level of the School.

Table 2

Summary of Multiple Regression of Individual, Family and School Characteristics on IA

	Whites			Blacks		
	Beta	t	Significance Level	Beta	t	Significance Level
Sex	.15	3.86	.001	.17	2.99	.005
Father's Education	.11	2.36	.025	-.04	-.51	N.S.
Mother's Education	.16	3.32	.001	.09	1.27	N.S.
Racial Composition of School	-.02	-.58	N.S.	.02	.31	N.S.
Fathers' Education Level of School	.06	1.51	N.S.	.24	3.09	.005
R	.30			.30		
R^2	.09			.09		
n	598			276		

The beta coefficients between the individual, family and school characteristics and Individual Adequacy are in general small for both black and white students. This corresponds to our expectations that Individual Adequacy is subject to many other current and prior influences besides these characteristics, and that these particular characteristics are interacting among themselves and as yet unidentified extraneous variables. The most notable characteristic of the correlations between family and school characteristics and IA is not their size but the consistent pattern of differing relationships between these variables for the black and white samples.

Sex is significantly related to Individual Adequacy for both blacks and whites. The beta coefficient for whites is .15 and for blacks, .17. Female students also consistently outscored male students on each of the three Individual Adequacy subscales: Work, Self-Reliance and Identity. The relationship of sex and IA was particularly strong at the 8th grade. At the 5th grade the zero-order correlation of sex and IA for white students was .23, and for black students .05. At the 11th grade the zero-order correlations were .C5 for white students and .05 for black students. The girls outscore the boys at both these grade levels but the margin of difference is generally smaller than in the 8th grade. The possibility that the sex differences observed in the eighth grade are partly the result of differential rates of development in early adolescence therefore can not be ruled out. We plan to investigate this explanation in a longitudinal follow-up of these South Carolina students and with further studies of sex differences in different age cohorts. Sex differences on the Individual Adequacy measure and its component scales were not unexpected, and we suspect that the different social experiences and expectations of males and females will remain an interesting source of variations in Individual Adequacy even when variations in rates of development and

academic achievement are statistically controlled.

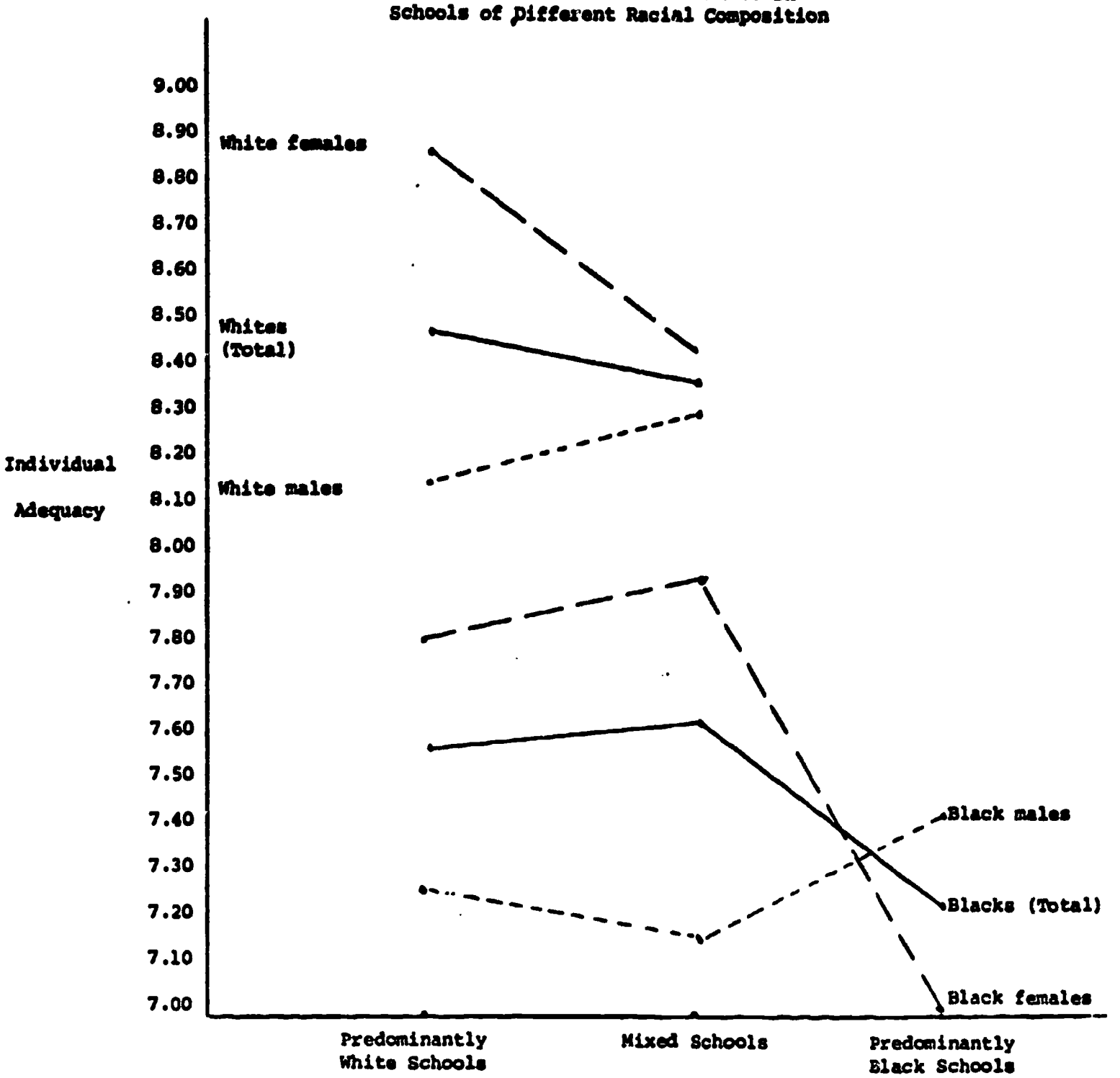
The second and third variables in the multiple regression analysis, Father's and Mother's Education, are based on the students' reports. For white students the beta coefficients of .11 and .16 reflect small but significant relationships between Father's and Mother's Education and IA. For black students, the associations between parents' education and IA are smaller and are negative for Father's Education. The one remaining comparison of interest is that for both black and white students, Mother's Education is more closely associated with IA than is Father's Education.

We turn now to the relationship of school characteristics and IA. The first measure of a school characteristic, Racial Composition, is the proportion of black students in the school. This information was obtained from a separate questionnaire answered by each building principal. Two schools were scored as predominantly white; four schools with between 30% and 58% black students were coded as racially mixed; and two schools with 84% and 88% black students were coded as predominantly black schools.

The small beta coefficients of -.02 and .02 measuring the degree of association between Individual Adequacy and Racial Composition for whites and blacks are somewhat deceptive. An examination of the mean Individual Adequacy scores in predominantly white schools, in mixed schools and in predominantly black schools revealed that there were differences in Individual Adequacy mean scores associated with these kinds of schools. These scores, however, were interacting with race and sex. Figure 2 graphs the mean Individual Adequacy scores of black and white males and females in the three different kinds of schools. White males scored higher on Individual Adequacy in mixed schools,

Figure 2

Mean Individual Adequacy Scores For Black and White Males and Females In Schools of Different Racial Composition



white females scored higher in predominantly white schools.[1] Black females in predominantly white schools and in mixed schools scored higher on Individual Adequacy than black females in predominantly black schools. Black males, on the other hand, scored higher on Individual Adequacy when they were in predominantly black schools. The graph gives some idea of the complexity of the interactions of personal and school characteristics which need to be examined in order to understand the influence of racial composition on the development of Individual Adequacy.

The second school characteristic investigated in the multiple regression analysis was the Level of Father's Education in the school. Schools with more than forty percent of the students reporting that their father had graduated from high school or had more education were characterized as high fathers' education schools. Schools with less than forty percent of the students reporting that their fathers had graduated from high school were classified as low fathers' education schools. The measure is an aggregate indicator of the socioeconomic milieu of the grade-wide peer group in which the individual student is located.

The measure does not have a direct relationship to Individual Adequacy for white students when individual characteristics are statistically controlled. However, the beta of .24 reflects fairly large differences in the IA scores of those black students who attend schools where the Fathers' Education of their peers is high and those whose school peers have lower Fathers' Education. This finding is congruent with studies which have found the parental educational level of a school to be an important independent influence on the academic

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[1] There were only 11 whites in the predominantly black schools. Their scores have therefore not been analyzed. For blacks there are a number of individuals in all three types of schools.

plans and achievements of the individual student.[1]

Summary of Influences on Individual Adequacy

The combined influence of these individual, family and school characteristics on Individual Adequacy is not large. Obviously many important individual characteristics and experiences have not been examined. More refined measurer of family and school characteristics and of the normative school climate would undoubtedly add to our overall ability to predict Individual Adequacy scores. The investigation of the five variables in the regression analysis has not been fruitless, however. The relative influence of the variables for black and white students has alerted us to the issue of possibly differing sources of Individual Adequacy for these two groups of students. Family characteristics were less related to variations in Individual Adequacy for blacks than for whites; on the other hand, the two school characteristics, Racial Composition and the Level of Father's Education in the School, had stronger relationships to Individual Adequacy for the black students than for the white students. These contrasts in the relative influence of family and school characteristics are now being investigated with data from new surveys in South Carolina and Pennsylvania. In addition we will be investigating the apparently opposite effects of racial composition on IA for males and females.

Multivariate Analysis of Social Adequacy

Table 3 presents the standardized regression coefficients and the multiple

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[1] For excellent reviews of this literature see:
Edward L. McDill and Leo C. Rigsby, Structure and Process in Secondary Schools, The Academic Impact of Educational Climates, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973; and Morris Rosenberg and Roberta G. Simmons, Black and White Self-Esteem: The Urban School Child, Washington, D.C.: The American Sociological Association, 1971.

Table 3

Summary of Multiple Regression of Individual,

Family and School Characteristics on Social Adequacy

	Whites			Blacks		
	Beta	t	Significance Level	Beta	t	Significance Level
Sex	.44	11.93	.001	.25	4.43	.001
Father's Education	.10	2.14	.050	.00	.04	N.S.
Mother's Education	.10	2.29	.025	.10	1.50	N.S.
Racial Composition of School	.07	1.73	N.S.	.16	2.06	.050
Fathers' Education Level of School	-.02	-.62	N.S.	.28	3.64	.001
R	.46			.35		
R^2	.21			.12		
N	598			276		

R^2 for individual, family, and school characteristics and Social Adequacy. The multiple R squares of .21 for whites and .12 for blacks are not large. A closer examination of the relative influence of each variable and the interactions among these variables, however, can add to our understanding of influences on Social Adequacy.

As in the case with Individual Adequacy, the girls scored considerably higher on Social Adequacy than the boys. In fact, white females are so much higher than white males that the mean Social Adequacy score of white females with low Father's Education exceeded the mean Social Adequacy score for white males with high Father's Education. For each subscale of Social Adequacy -- Social Commitment, Tolerance and Change -- the females' mean score was also significantly higher than the males'. The females in the 5th and 11th grades also significantly outscored their male counterparts although not by as wide a margin as the girls in the 8th grade. Differences in rates of male-female maturity in early adolescence, so often noted in other areas of developmental research, may also be affecting the distribution of this measure of Social Adequacy.

Both Father's and Mother's Education have a small (.15 and .11) but significant relationship to Social Adequacy for white students. Neither of these two family characteristics are significantly related to Social Adequacy for black students. An examination of mean Social Adequacy scores for each level of parental education showed, as with Individual Adequacy, a monotonic relationship between Social Adequacy and both parental education measures for white students, and a non-monotonic relationship for black students.

For blacks, but not for whites, both school characteristics are significantly related to Social Adequacy. Racial Composition, however, has a com-

plex relationship to Social Adequacy. Sex and Racial Composition interact so that the beta coefficient is not a completely accurate reflection of the relationships found in schools with different racial compositions. Figure 3 graphically depicts the mean SA scores for the black and white male and female groups. White males scored somewhat higher on Social Adequacy in mixed schools. White girls scored higher in predominantly white schools. Black females scored highest on Social Adequacy when in mixed schools, and worse in schools that were predominantly black. The mean Social Adequacy scores for black males was highest in mixed schools, and lowest in predominantly white schools.

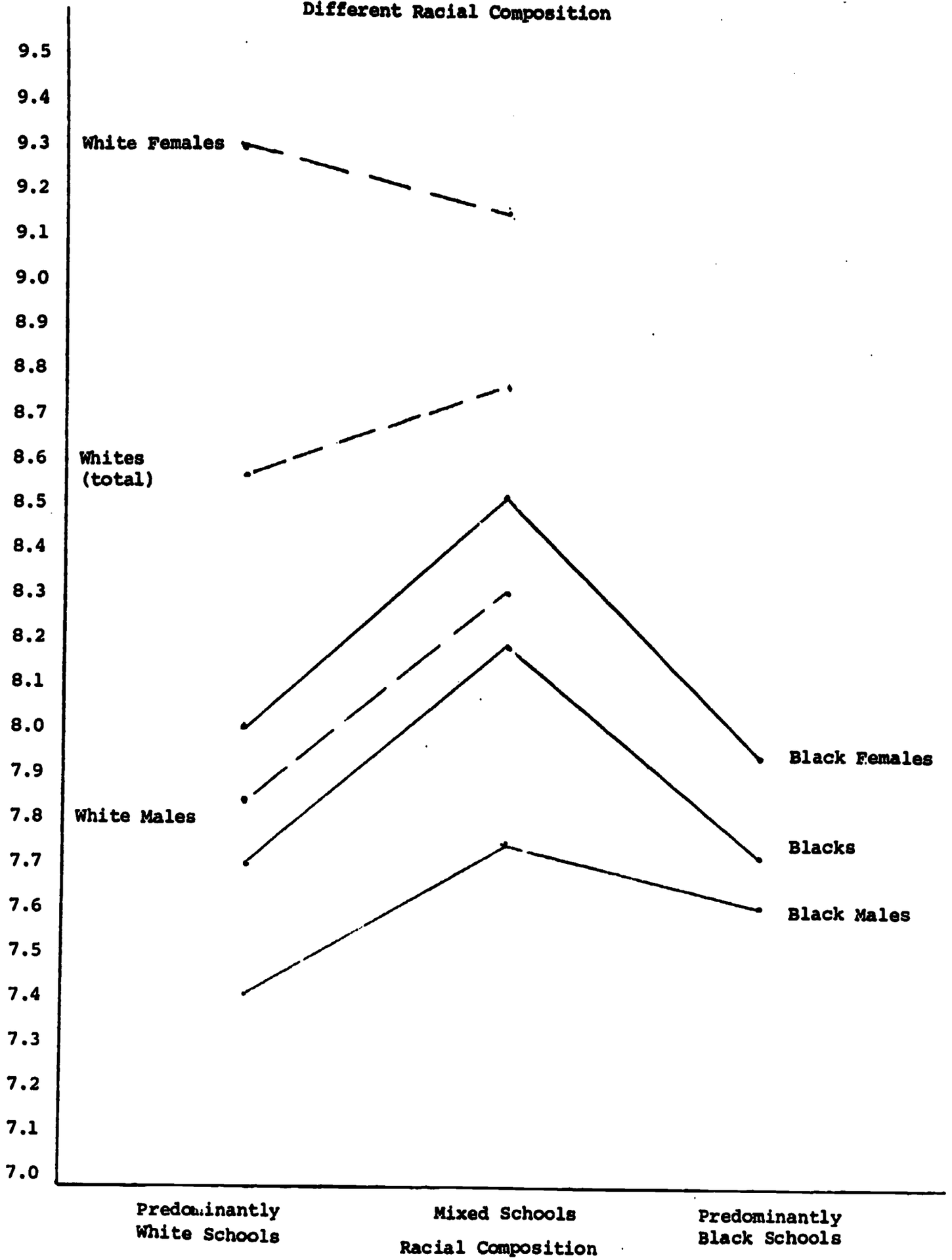
Further investigations using larger numbers of schools and subjects in each of these categories are necessary before the reliability of these relationships can be ascertained. Data which we are presently gathering will allow us to examine these relationships within larger groups and to statistically control for possible differences in such characteristics as the verbal achievement of the student and the mean achievement level of each school.

The second school characteristic, the Level of Fathers' Education in the School, was not related to Social Adequacy for white students, but the beta coefficient for black students of .28 was significant.

It appears that the normative values of Tolerance, Social Commitment, and a rational approach to Change are communicated to children in different ways. For white students, their <u>own</u> parents' education has a direct effect on Social Adequacy, and they seem relatively unaffected by the combined educational level of the parents of their school peers. For the black students the influence of the parental education of their <u>peers</u> appears to be more important in increasing or decreasing their own Social Adequacy score.

Figure 3

Mean Social Adequacy Scores for Black and White Males and Females in Schools of Different Racial Composition



Summary:

In summarizing these results there are several points which need re-emphasizing. The unique geographical location and size of the sample do not allow us to generalize beyond these immediate schools. We have therefore used the results of the analyses to describe this sample and to suggest analyses for future investigations with different samples.

Selected individual, family and school characteristics were examined for their relation to Individual Adequacy and Social Adequacy. We have spoken of these characteristics as influences on IA and SA although in a strict sense we have not established causal directions in these associations. We have, however, selected variables that are unlikely to have been caused by the child's level of PSM and which plausibly could be influencing a child's orientation toward himself and his society. We found that, for both IA and SA, white students outscored black students and females outscored males. Separate regression analyses for black and white students revealed that parental education had a small but statistically significant relationship with Individual Adequacy and Social Adequacy for white students, but not for black students. On the other hand, a school characteristic, the Level of Fathers' Education in the school, was related to Individual Adequacy and Social Adequacy for the black students, but not for the white students.

The association of Individual and Social Adequacy and the Father's Educational Level of the School is not surprising, considering the research linking individual academic achievement to the achievement climate of the school and the parental education of the school's population. The Coleman

Report[1] and more recent work by McDill and Rigsby[2] has shown a direct relation between such school-wide measures and individual academic achievement.

A second school characteristic, Racial Composition, also appeared to influence Individual Adequacy and Social Adequacy for black and white students. Its influence, however, appears to be in different directions for males and females.

The similarity in the relationships of these variables to both Individual Adequacy and Social Adequacy is also of some importance. Although Individual Adequacy and Social Adequacy are empirically correlated, there is no reason to assume that their origins are identical. These five variables, however, are related to both Individual Adequacy and Social Adequacy in much the same fashion. The relationship of Individual Adequacy to Social Adequacy and of the combinations of these two variables to further individual and family characteristics is the subject of Dr. Greenberger's paper.

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1 James S. Coleman, et. al., Equality of Educational Opportunity, Washington,D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

2 Edward L. McDill and Leo C. Rigsby, Structure and Process in Secondary Schools, The Academic Impact of Educational Climates, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.

Attitudes Toward Self and Society

Ellen Greenberger

The development of positive attitudes toward the self and toward the larger social group are matters of obvious theoretical and practical concern. Previous research based on our model of psychosocial maturity has suggested a fairly strong, positive association between a child's individual psychological strengths (i.e. his individual adequacy) and his potential as a concerned member of society (i.e., his social adequacy). Correlations range from roughly .45 to .60 on a variety of samples over the age-span 11 to 18 years. While these correlations are substantial, it is clear that a child's attitudes in the self or social domain explain no more than about 35% of the variance in the other.

In this study we will examine children whose self and social development has taken the same path -- children who score high on both individual and social adequacy or low on both dimensions of development -- and children whose self and social development has taken divergent paths -- those who score high on one dimension and low on the other.

Four such groups or "types" of youngsters can be formed easily on the basis of scores on the Psychosocial Maturity Inventory. That is, taking scores on the Individual and Social Adequacy subsets of scales, we can identify children who are (1) High-High (HH) relative to others their age; (2) Low-Low (LL); (3) High-Low (HL) -- high in individual adequacy but low in social adequacy; and (4) Low-High (LH) -- low in individual adequacy, but high in social adequacy. Forming groups in this way of course does not guarantee their meaningfulness. We wish to explore two questions here: Are these types distinctively different from one another, and do they make psychological sense?

The survey data we have at hand were not collected to answer these questions, but seemed likely to offer some useful clues. The data consist of information on children's race, sex and father's level of education; six items concerned with perceived parental child-rearing styles; one item concerned with the child's psychological involvement with adults; and one item concerned with the child's participation in school activities.

The hypotheses guiding our exploration were more clearcut with respect to the two types representing symmetrical development toward psychosocial maturity, the HH's and LL's. We conjectured that being white, female, and from a family with a relatively high educational level should be most common among HH's. Conversely being black, male and from a family with a low level of education should predispose toward being LL. Our own prior data (including Dan's) suggest these outcomes, as do theoretical arguments which suggest that strength of socialization into the dominant culture is a function of race, social class, and sex of the child. We also anticipated that rational-democratic, child-valuing parental behaviors would be likely to breed positive self-attitudes and concerned interest in the well-being of others.

Sample & Method

The subjects of the study were drawn from a stratified random sample of schools containing 5th, 8th and 11th grades in South Carolina. (Stratification dimensions were the racial composition and degree of urbanness of the school.)[1]

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[1] On the average, the sample is 35% black, 46% male and father's education stopped slightly before completion of a high school diploma.

At each grade level, median scores on Individual and Social Adequacy were determined, and every child was identified as high (above the median) or low (below the median) on each of the two variables. The result is a classification of youngsters into four types, as described earlier. The total number of children so classified was 726, 889, and 619, at grades 5, 8, and 11 respectively. Due to the substantial degree of correlation between individual adequacy and social adequacy, the HH and LL types are most numerous. Table 1 gives the n's for each type by grade level.

Items on which the four types were compared were either dichotomous in nature (e.g., sex) or were dichotomized prior to the data analysis. Differences among groups were first assessed by means of two-by-four chi square tests. When overall group differences at or beyond the 5% level were obtained, we attempted to pinpoint the between-type contrasts which contributed most to the significance. Using Keith Smith's extension of Sheffé's method for detecting differences a posteriori, we compared each type with every other (a total of six comparisons). The resulting 2 x 2 tables were subjected to Smith's stringent a posteriori test of significance, in which the expected frequencies and degrees of freedom are those determined from the original configuration. This test is more demanding than the a priori chi square test of differences among types, and we are therefore taking a conservative view of between-type differences. In general, analyses were conducted separately for boys and girls within each grade level.

Results

We will look only briefly at demographic characteristics of the youngsters comprising our four PSM types.

1. Race

Race significantly differentiates among the four PSM types. The most consistent significant difference between any two subgroups is between the HH's and LL's. Whites are about twice as likely as blacks to be classified HH, and blacks are about twice as likely as whites to be classified LL. The HH-LL comparison is significant at all grade levels for both sexes, with the exception of girls at grade 11, where the same trend still is nonetheless quite vivid.

Whites are also significantly overrepresented among HL's in several comparisons. (The significantly higher scores of whites on individual adequacy, as reported in the previous paper, helps account for this finding.)

Table 2 summarizes the chi square tests for race-by-type. Table 3 shows the proportion of all whites and blacks in each of the four types by grade level.

2. Sex

Sex also significantly differentiates among the four PSM types at all grades. The main source of differences lies in the HH-LL comparison, with girls significantly more numerous in the HH type at grades 5 and 8 and still showing a trend in that direction at grade 11. (Other significant differences appear to be due to the significantly higher mean score of girls, compared to boys, on social adequacy.) Tables 4 and 5 summarize sex differences in PSM type.

The figures in Table 5 reveal two very interesting age trends. First, the rank order of types remains at grade 11 what it was at grade 5. Boys are most likely to be LL, HH, HL and LH in that order, whereas girls are most likely to HH, LL, LH and HL in that order. Despite this similarity

over time, a subtle change in the fortunes of girls between grade 5 and grade 11 should be noted. There is a distinct drop in both the absolute frequency of girls classified as HH in grade 11 and in the degree to which they outnumber boys in this most favorable of PSM types.

The race and sex findings just discussed are enhanced by classifying youngsters simultaneously on race and sex. Chi square values for the resulting four-by-four classification are highly significant at each grade level.[1] Table 6 displays these dramatic differences. The most notable trends are these:

(1) In general, about the same proportion of all race - sex subgroups is to be found in each of the four PSM types in grade 11 as in grade 5. Eight years of additional education does not alter markedly the within-group distribution of maturity present at the outset.

(2) Sex differences in the distribution of maturity types appear to be slightly greater among whites than blacks.

(3) The decline of girls in the HH type from grade 5 to grade 11, which we noted above, is now seen to be specific to white girls.

(4) White girls and black boys both increase slightly from grade 5 to grade 11 in the frequency of being classified LL.

3. Father's Education

Father's education was classified as "less than high school diploma" or "high school diploma or more education." Overall differences among PSM types are found at all grade levels, for both sexes, with the exception of boys at grade 5. With the same exception, all grade level-sex sub-

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[1] Chi square = 93.3, 139.4, and 70.6, df = 9, $p < .001$, at grades 5, 8, and 11 respectively.

groups have significant HH-LL differences, a higher level of father's education occurring more often among the HH's . All significant effects of father's education increase in magnitude from grade 5 to grade 11. Table 7 summarizes the tests of significance. Table 8 shows the per cent of children with "high" father's education in each type.

One observation is of special interest: There is a decrease from grade 5 to grade 11 in the proportion of HH children who come from families where the father has a low level of education, and an accompanying increase in the proportion of LL children who come from low-education families. Thus, in a manner of speaking, the rich get richer, while the poor get poorer.

Summary of Race, Sex and Father's Education

The evidence from these analyses clearly supports our predictions about the incidence of race, sex, and father's education in the HH and LL types.

The data on race-sex subgroups suggests that the passage from childhood to middle adolescence takes a special toll on three groups: white girls, black boys (to a lesser extent), and youngsters whose fathers have less than a high school education. I am reminded of a study of college women in the '50's done by Sanford, Freedman et al. In this study, seniors scored higher on a measure of neuroticism than freshmen. The authors' interpretation suggested that the seniors' decline in mental equilibrium might be due to the role-ambiguity and role-conflicts these women were anticipating as they prepared to face the "real" world. Might this also be true of youngsters near the end of high school for whom role-conflicts and societal limitations are a reality?

We turn now to a set of six questions concerned with styles of parenting.

4. My parents do not ask my opinion when making a decision that concerns me.

Disagreement with this statement is assumed to reflect a rational-democratic orientation on the part of the parents, and a concern for the rights of the "other"; agreement suggests a repressive and de-valuing parental orientation.

Table 9 shows that the four PSM types differ significantly in their response to this statement at every grade level and for both sexes, with the exception of boys at grade 5. The magnitude of this difference remains large and stable over time. Again excepting 5th grade boys, in every age-sex subgroup, HH's disagree with this statement significantly more often than LL's. The fact that HH's also significantly exceed LH's in disagreeing suggests that the perception of parental behavior as devaluing of the self has particular relevance for the development of individual adequacy. (That is, HH's and LH's differ on that variable only.)

Table 10 shows the per cent of each age-sex subgroup disagreeing with the statement. Almost without exception HH's and LL's are at opposite ends of the spectrum.

5. When I don't know why my father makes certain rules for me, he always explains the reason.

6. When I don't know why my mother makes certain rules for me, she always explains the reason.

Like the previous statements, these two items are assumed to reflect a rational-democratic parental style, and a concern for the other. Both

items yield rather skimpy and surprising findings. We will deal with the "father" version of the item first.

The "father" version discriminates among the four PSM types only for 5th grade boys and 8th grade girls. (See Table 11). The point of major interest is that, contrary to expectations, HH's are by no means the most likely to agree with the statement. HH boys show a somewhat greater gain in the direction of open, democratic relations with the father than do girls between grade 8 and grade 11. Also, it is interesting to note -- see Table 12 -- that the HH's and LL's are consistently rather similar in their perception of paternal rule-setting techniques, despite apparent differences in what sorts of children these are. We will interpret the findings for this item after discussing the "mother" version of the statement.

The "mother" version yields significant overall differences only for girls at grade 8 and boys at grade 11. (Table 13). No between-type comparisons are significant, but the trends are similar to what they were for the item written in terms of the father (Table 14). HH's, contrary to expectations, are again among the least likely to agree that mother always explains her rules for them. The HH boys gain substantially in equality with the mother from grade 8 to grade 11, but the girls do not.

Two interpretations of the findings for these items seem plausible. First, perhaps children with highly mature personal and social attitudes have higher standards than less mature children for awarding parents the badge of democracy. Second, perhaps the parents of very mature children need to resort to firmer and more distancing styles of control at times than the parents of less challenging youngsters.

7. My parents have more rules for me to follow than other parents with kids my age.

This item taps the degree of control parents exert over their children. Agreement with this statement suggests a high degree of parental control over the child and a low valuation of the child's ability to make his own decisions. Thus, agreement with the item seems counter-productive of development toward personal and social maturity.

This item produces significant differences among the four PSM types for both boys and girls at grades 5 and 8, but for neither at grade 11. At the two earlier grades, there are significant HH - LL differences for both sexes, HH's rejecting this statement more often than LL's. (Table 15). Table 16 shows that LL's are consistently the subgroup (type) most likely to agree with the statement; that is, to describe their parents as exercising more control over them than the parents of other children.

8. My father does not get upset if I hold opinions that are very different from his.

and

9. My mother does not get upset if I hold opinions that are very different from hers.

These items were also thought to assess degree of parental control. Agreement with these statements suggests that the parents permit the child autonomy with respect to his views, rather than try to mold the child's vision to match their own. As we shall see, the findings suggest that the items may be measuring other parental dispositions as well.

First, the "father version" of the item. Significant differences among types are found only for boys at grade 5 and girls at grade 8. (Table 17). At these grade levels, a consistent pattern of responses is present: HH's are most likely of all types to disagree with the item, i.e., to say that their father does get upset when their opinions are very different from his. (Table 18).

The "mother version" of the item differentiates among PSM types at every grade level for girls, but at none for boys (Table 19). Table 20 shows that the same trends observed with respect to the father at grades 5 and 8 are also present here: HH's are least likely of all types to agree with the item. Interestingly, the HH girls attain more peace with their mothers by the time they reach grade 11; at that point in time, they are no longer the subgroup most likely to picture a mother who is upset over differences of opinion with her daughter. (It is the LL's who have the greatest relative strife now.)

The findings for both father and mother versions of this item seem to call for a type of interpretation we suggested earlier. Highly mature children are likely to be tough customers in a debate or argument. When such children hold opinions that are "very different" from their parents, the experience for the parents is probably troubling and vivid. Thus, while we initially viewed these items as measures of parental control, it now seems that they may also be measures of positive concern over the child's development. The parent who gets upset when his child holds very divergent views from his own may not be a tyrant but a person with serious concern for the socialization and development of his child.

The fact that mother's perceived distress over differences of opinion is more predictive of differences in girls' maturity than boys' hints at the importance of this parental relationship in a girl's

growing up.

10. I would rather spend time with adults I like than with kids my own age.

This item assesses the child's willingness to give up the peer group for contact with adults he likes. Agreement with the item suggests that adults are in a position to be influential socializers of the child, and hence, that the child who agrees with this statement may have advanced further toward psychosocial maturity.

The statement is a powerful discriminator among PSM types for both sexes at every grade level. HH-LL differences are significant for all subgroups except 11th grade girls, and differences are in the expected direction. HH's and LL's are virtually always at the two extremes in terms of per cent agreement with the item.

Tables 21 and 22 summarize the results described above.

11. I participate in one or more school activities or clubs.

This item was originally phrased in the following form:

> How many school activities or clubs are you an active member of this year? (Examples: band, chorus, drama club, athletic team, newspaper, French club, hobby club, student patrol, school committees, student government. Do not include academic honor societies.)

Options were "zero" to "seven or more," and answers were recoded "none" versus "one or more." Agreement with the item suggests that the child both has some interest he wishes to pursue and that he has some involvement in the school. Both factors seem more likely to characterize children who are advanced in their psychosocial development.

At grade 5 we do not find significant differences among the four PSM types, possibly because school activities are relatively limited at this age-level and participation is often a matter of selection or encouragement by adults. Significant differences are found, however, for both sexes at grades 8 and 11. While no reliable subgroup comparisons exist at grade 8, at grade 11 HH's of both sexes cite school participation significantly more often than LL's. Table 23 summarizes the tests of significance.

At all grade levels there is a strong pattern for LL's most often to state that they are non-participants in school activities, followed next-most-frequently by LH's. Thus high individual adequacy (HH or HL) is somewhat more strongly associated than social adequacy with involvement in non-academic aspects of the school. (Table 24.)

DISCUSSION

The distinctiveness and meaningfulness of two of the four PSM types, HH and LL, seems strongly supported. No systematic patterns clearly separate the LH and HL types, either from each other or from the two groups demonstrating consistent development.[1]

Stepping back from the data for a moment, let us think about why HH's and LL's are the most populous of our types, and why the development of self

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[1] One source of the failure to produce distinctive HL's and LH's may be the method by which respondents were classified. Inspection of mean scores for all four types on Individual Adequacy and Social Adequacy shows that HL and LH youngsters tend not to be as high or low on either dimension as the HH or LL subgroup with whom they share one classification. In other words, while they are above or below the median on Individual and Social Adequacy, as their type-name indicates, they are closer to the median than children who fall into the HH or LL categories. A more stringent procedure for classifying youngsters HL or LH should probably be used in future work.

and social attitudes tends to go hand in hand, as it does in these "consistent" types. I suggest that the differentiation of self and the good self feelings that are implicit in our construct of Individual Adequacy form the basis for a highly developed commitment to the welfare and rights of others. The young person who has self-esteem and feels competent and adequate as an individual can be generous in his concern for others and can commit himself to others without fearing the loss of his individuality. On the contrary, a poorly differentiated and negative sense of self is inimical to the development of social feeling.

To review quickly what we know about these two types:

HH's, in contrast to LL's, are more likely to be white, female and to have better-educated fathers. These findings are consistent with the view that highly mature children are exposed to strong (dominant culture) socialization forces. HH's are active in school-related clubs, but they are also interested in spending time with adults they like. Thus, they are neither exclusively adult-oriented nor peer-oriented. Their behavior does not oblige their parents to set excessive rules, but on the other hand, their parents do not always offer explanations for the rules they do set. The parents of HH youngsters ask their opinions when making important decisions that concern them, but may become distressed if these youngsters hold opinions that are very different from their own. The inferences we draw from this evidence are (1) HH children are competent persons, and sometimes tough customers to deal with; and (2) their parents are not unfailingly rational and democratic; they get angry with their children and sometimes balk at giving explanations. However, they demonstrate in various ways that they value their children as individuals and have an intense concern for their development and socializa-

tion. If our reading of the data is credible, it follows that HH children don't just "grow up" that way. They are <u>raised.</u>

Table 1

Size of Sample in Each PSM Type

	Grade 5	Grade 8	Grade 11
LL	241	314	210
LH	124	134	95
HL	129	115	100
HH	232	326	214
Totals	726	889	619

Legend: LL = Low on Individual Adequacy, Low on Social Adequacy

LH = Low on Individual Adequacy, High on Social Adequacy

HL = High on Individual Adequacy, Low on Social Adequacy

HH = High on Individual Adequacy, High on Social Adequacy

Table 2

Summary of Significance of Chi Square Tests
On Racial Composition of Types [a]

	Grade 5		Grade 8		Grade 11	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Four PSM Types Differ	x^2=14.7, $p < .01$	x^2=58.2, $p < .001$	x^2=31.8, $p < .001$	x^2=48.7, $p < .001$	x^2=26.6, $p < .001$	x^2=32.6, $p < .001$
HH LL	x^{2HH}=12.2, $p < .02$	x^{2HH}=55.1, $p < .001$	x^{2HH}=25.8, $p < .001$	x^{2HH}=44.9, $p < .001$	x^{2HH}=16.4, $p < .001$	x^{2HH}=31.2, $p < .001$
HH HL			x^{2HH}=12.8, $p < .01$			
HH LH	x^{2HH}=18.7, $p < .001$					
LL HL	x^{2HL}=8.9, $p < .05$				x^{2HL}=16.4, $p < .001$	x^{2HL}=10.2, $p < .02$
LL LH						
HL LH					x^{2HL}=8.7, $p < .05$	

[a] The type in which white children predominate is indicated in each subgroup comparison where there are race differences significant at or beyond the 5% level.

Table 3

Distribution of Blacks and Whites Among PSM Types

	Grade 5		Grade 8		Grade 11	
	% white	% black	% white	% black	% white	% black
LL	22%	46%	28%	50%	24%	48%
LH	16%	20%	15%	16%	14%	18%
HL	19%	15%	13%	13%	19%	11%
HH	43%	19%	44%	21%	43%	23%
(Total)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)

Table 4

Summary of Significance of Chi Square Tests on Sex Composition of Types [a]

	Grade 5	Grade 8	Grade 11
Four PSM Types Differ	x^2=19.8, $p < .001$	x^2=64.0, $p < .001$	x^2=11.2, $p < .05$
HH LL	$x^{2\,HH}$=12.2, $p < .01$	$x^{2\,HH}$=50.7, $p < .001$	
HH HL	$x^{2\,HH}$=12.6, $p < .01$	$x^{2\,HH}$=16.7, $p < .001$	
HH LH			
LL HL			
LL LH		$x^{2\,LH}$=30.2, $p < .001$	
HL LH		$x^{2\,LH}$=12.4, $p < .01$	

[a] The type in which girls predominate is indicated in each subgroup comparison where there are sex differences significant at or beyond the 5% level. Degrees of freedom in all cases are 3.

Table 5

Distribution of Boys and Girls Among PSM Types

	Grade 5		Grade 8		Grade 11	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
LL	36%	28%	47%	25%	39%	30%
LH	16%	18%	11%	19%	12%	18%
HL	21%	14%	15%	10%	19%	14%
HH	27%	40%	27%	46%	30%	38%
(Total)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)

Table 6

Distribution of Each Race-Sex Combination Among PSM Types [a,b]

		Black Boys	Black Girls	White Boys	White Girls
LL	Grade 5	50.5%	44.2%	29.2%	14.7%
	8	62.9%	40.7%	39.9%	15.9%
	11	55.4%	44.0%	29.1%	18.8%
LH	Grade 5	15.1%	22.4%	15.8%	15.2%
	8	15.3%	17.3%	9.2%	19.6%
	11	14.8%	19.7%	10.2%	16.7%
HL	Grade 5	16.1%	13.4%	23.4%	13.6%
	8	10.4%	14.3%	17.4%	8.4%
	11	9.9%	11.8%	24.0%	15.7%
HH	Grade 5	18.1%	19.8%	31.6%	56.6%
	8	11.2%	22.5%	33.3%	55.9%
	11	19.8%	24.3%	36.5%	48.6%

[a] Figures for each grade level sum down the columns to 100%.

[b] Chi square values were computed for each grade level on a 4 x 4 table. These values were 93.3, 139.4, and 70.6 ($p < .001$) at grades 5, 8, and 11, respectively.

Table 7

Summary of Significance of Chi Square Tests on Composition Of Types by Father's Education [a,b]

	Grade 5		Grade 8		Grade 11	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Four PSM Types Differ		x^2=10.7, $p < .02$	x^2=22.6, $p < .001$	x^2=22.6, $p < .001$	x^2=20.5, $p < .001$	x^2=33.1, $p < .001$
HH LL		$x^{2\,HH}$=9.8, $p < .05$	$x^{2\,HH}$=21.4, $p < .001$	$x^{2\,HH}$=8.4, $p < .05$	$x^{2\,HH}$=18.8, $p < .001$	$x^{2\,HH}$=30.4, $p < .001$
HH HL				$x^{2\,HH}$=18.1, $p < .001$		
HH LH						
LL HL						$x^{2\,HL}$=10.5, $p < .02$
LL LH						
HL LH						

[a] Father's education was coded dichotomously: less than a high school diploma vs. high school diploma or more education.

[b] The type in which a high school diploma or more characterizes the father's education is indicated in each subgroup comparison where father's education yields differences significant at or beyond the 5% level. Degrees of freedom in all cases are 3.

Table 8

Father's Level of Education

Per Cent of Type with "High School Diploma or More" *

Grade 5				Grade 8				Grade 11			
Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
LH	60.0	HH	60.9	HH	83.0	HH	69.9	HH	65.3	HH	65.8
HL	56.8	HL	48.5	HL	71.9	LH	55.3	LH	58.6	HL	57.5
LL	56.3	LH	44.4	LH	62.5	LL	50.6	HL	53.1	LH	40.8
HH	53.1	LL	34.0	LL	54.9	HL	30.3	LL	32.2	LL	25.9

* Arranged from type with highest per cent agreement to type with lowest.

Table 9

Summary of Significance of Chi Square Tests for Item:

"My parents do not ask my opinion when making a decision that concerns me." (Disagree) [a,b]

	Grade 5		Grade 8		Grade 11	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Four PSM Types Differ		x^2=34.9, $p < .001$	x^2=39.4, $p < .001$	x^2=35.4, $p < .001$	x^2=31.7, $p < .001$	x^2=12.2, $p < .01$
HH LL		x^2_{HH}=34.6, $p < .001$	x^2_{HH}=31.9, $p < .001$	x^2_{HH}=28.3, $p < .001$	x^2_{HH}=18.8, $p < .001$	x^2_{HH}=15.6, $p < .001$
HH HL						
HH LH				x^2_{HH}=18.4, $p < .001$	x^2_{HH}=21.7, $p < .001$	
LL HL			x^2_{HL}=14.8 $p < .001$			
LL LH		x^2_{LH}=10.3, $p < .01$	x^2_{LH}=8.1, $p < .05$			
HL LH					x^2_{HL}=11.9, $p < .01$	

[a] This direction of response was expected to be more common in high maturity children.

[b] Differences significant at the 5% level or beyond, for 3 degrees of freedom, are shown by citing the subgroup that had the higher proportion of answers in the direction expected of high maturity children.

Table 10

"My parents do not ask my opinion when making a decision that concerns me."

Per Cent of Type Disagreeing with Item*

Grade 5				Grade 8				Grade 11			
Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
HH	59.0	HH	73.1	HH	79.6	HH	78.4	HH	81.1	LH	81.2
HL	54.0	LH	60.2	HL	73.9	HL	62.8	HL	72.5	HH	76.6
LH	50.0	HL	56.3	LH	70.2	LH	52.2	LL	50.9	HL	75.0
LL	45.3	LL	36.3	LL	48.0	LL	49.6	LH	35.2	LL	52.4

* Arranged from type with highest per cent disagreement to type with lowest.

Table 11

Summary of Significance of Chi Square Tests for Item:

"When I don't know why my father makes certain rules for me, he will always explain the reason." (Agree) [a,b]

	Grade 5		Grade 8		Grade 11	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Four PSM Types Differ	$x^2=8.2$, $p<.05$			$x^2=13.8$, $p<.01$		
HH LL						
HH HL	$x^2_{HL}=9.9$, $p<.05$					
HH LH				$x^2_{LH}=10.9$, $p<.02$		
LL HL						
LL LH				$x^2_{LH}=11.5$, $p<.01$		
HL LH						

[a] This direction of response was expected to be more common in high maturity children. The opposite trend was found.

[b] Differences significant at the 5% level or beyond, for 3 degrees of freedom, are shown by citing the subgroup that had the higher proportion of answers in the direction expected of high maturity children.

Table 12

"When I don't know why my father makes certain rules for me, he will always explain the reason."

Per Cent of Each Type Agreeing with the Item*

Grade 5				Grade 8				Grade 11			
Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
HL	36.4	HL	36.3	LH	44.6	LH	56.8	LH	48.4	LH	48.4
LL	22.3	LH	27.7	HL	41.4	HL	42.0	HH	40.9	HH	40.9
LH	21.1	HH	23.6	LL	37.9	HH	36.1	LL	39.8	LL	39.8
HH	15.9	LL	22.5	HH	29.6	LL	33.6	HL	33.3	HL	33.3

* Arranged from type with highest per cent agreement to type with lowest.

Table 13

Summary of Significance of Chi Square Tests for Item:

"When I don't know why my mother makes certain rules for me, she will always explain the reason." (Agree) [a,b]

	Grade 5		Grade 8		Grade 11	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Four PSM Types Differ				$x^2=24.1$, $p < .001$	$x^2=9.7$, $p < .05$	
HH LL						
HH HL						
HH LH						
LL HL						
LL LH						
HL LH						

[a] This direction of response was expected to be more common in high maturity children. The opposite trend was found.

[b] Differences significant at the 5% level or beyond, for 3 degrees of freedom, are shown by citing the subgroup that had the higher proportion of answers in the direction expected of high maturity children.

Table 14

"When I don't know why my mother makes certain rules for me, she always explains the reason."

Per Cent Agreeing with the Item*

Grade 5				Grade 8				Grade 11			
Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
LL	31.0	LL	24.3	LH	40.4	HL	46.0	LH	44.1	LH	46.9
HL	24.6	HL	21.8	LL	37.0	LH	35.9	HH	42.3	HL	43.8
LH	23.0	LH	19.1	HL	34.2	HH	31.6	HL	28.3	LL	38.2
HH	17.0	HH	16.5	HH	28.8	LL	28.8	LL	24.0	HH	36.1

* Arranged from type with highest per cent agreement to type with lowest.

Table 15

Summary of Significance of Chi Square Tests for Item:

"My parents have more rules for me to follow than other parents with kids my age." (Disagree) [a,b]

	Grade 5		Grade 8		Grade 11	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Four PSM Types Differ	x^2=12.1, $p < .01$	x^2=44.9, $p < .001$	x^2=14.8, $p < .01$	x^2=10.5, $p < .02$		
HH LL		x^2_{HH}=10.7, $p < .02$	x^2_{HH}=44.6, $p < .001$	x^2_{HH}=15.9, $p < .001$	x^2_{HH}=8.8, $p < .05$	
HH HL			x^2_{HH}=8.2, $p < .05$			
HH LH						
LL HL						
LL LH		x^2_{LH}=10.3, $p < .05$				
HL LH						

[a] This direction of response was expected to be more common in high maturity children.

[b] Differences significant at the 5% level or beyond, for 3 degrees of freedom, are shown by citing the subgroup that had the higher proportion of answers in the direction expected of high maturity children.

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Table 16

"My parents have more rules for me to follow than other parents with kids my age."

Per Cent of Type Disagreeing with the Item *

Grade 5				Grade 8				Grade 11			
Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
HH	58.6	HH	72.7	HH	63.3	HL	64.7	HL	76.1	HH	66.6
LH	52.9	LH	54.7	HL	50.8	HH	62.5	HH	66.7	HL	66.0
HL	50.6	HL	50.0	LH	46.9	LH	53.9	LH	64.7	LH	64.7
LL	35.9	LL	30.6	LL	40.1	LL	45.9	LL	52.2	LL	52.2

* Arranged from type with highest per cent disagreement to type with lowest.

Table 17

Summary of Significance of Chi Square Tests for Item:

"My father does not get upset if I hold opinions that are very different from his." (Agree) [a,b]

	Grade 5		Grade 8		Grade 11	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Four PSM Types Differ	$x^2=8.5$, $p < .05$			$x^2=14.2$, $p < .01$		
HH LL						
HH HL						
HH LH			LH $x^2=11.9$, $p < .01$			
LL HL						
LL LH						
HL LH						

[a] This direction of response was expected to be more common in high maturity children. The opposite trend was found.

[b] Differences significant at the 5% level or beyond, for 3 degrees of freedom, are shown by citing the subgroup that had the higher proportion of answers in the direction expected of high maturity children.

Table 18

"My father does not get upset if I hold opinions that are very different from his."

Per Cent of Each Type Agreeing with the Item *

Grade 5				Grade 8				Grade 11			
Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
HH	51.3	LH	36.9	HL	41.4	HL	43.1	LH	44.1	LH	53.1
LL	36.7	HL	36.3	LL	37.7	LH	41.5	LL	43.1	HH	41.6
LH	34.6	LL	36.0	LH	36.1	LL	39.2	HH	36.4	HL	38.2
HH	29.5	HH	30.5	HH	26.2	HH	24.8	HL	33.3	LL	35.5

* Arranged from type with highest per cent agreement to type with lowest.

Table 19

Summary of Significance of Chi Square Tests for Item:

"My mother does not get upset if I hold opinions that are very different from hers." (Agree) [a,b]

	Grade 5		Grade 8		Grade 11	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Four PSM Types Differ		x^2=14.8, $p < .01$		x^2=13.2, $p < .001$		x^2=13.9, $p < .01$
HH LL						
HH HL		x^2_{HL}=9.6, $p < .05$				
HH LH		x^2_{LH}=8.4, $p < .05$		x^2_{LH}=7.8, $p < .05$		
LL HL		x^2_{HL}=7.9, $p < .05$				
LL LH						x^2_{LH}=13.2, $p < .001$
HL LH						

[a] This direction of response was expected to be more common in high maturity children. The opposite trend was found.

[b] Differences significant at the 5% level or beyond, for 3 degrees of freedom, are shown by citing the subgroup that had the higher proportion of answers in the direction expected of high maturity children.

Table 20

"My mother does not get upset if I hold opinions that are very different from hers."

Per Cent of Each Type Agreeing with the Item*

Grade 5				Grade 8				Grade 11			
Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
HL	37.8	HL	53.7	HL	33.2	HL	43.1	HL	35.8	LH	58.4
HH	32.1	LH	50.0	LL	32.4	LH	41.5	LL	35.4	HH	43.0
LL	31.7	LL	34.5	LH	25.4	LL	39.2	LH	35.2	HL	37.0
LH	26.9	HH	29.6	HH	20.2	HH	24.8	HH	32.9	LL	28.2

* Arranged from type with highest per cent agreement to type with lowest.

Table 21

Summary of Significance of Chi Square Tests for Item:

"I would rather spend time with adults I like than with kids my own age." (Agree) [a,b]

	Grade 5		Grade 8		Grade 11	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Four PSM Types Differ	x^2=27.1, $p < .001$	x^2=22.1, $p < .001$	x^2=17.2, $p < .001$	x^2=21.0, $p < .001$	x^2=10.7, $p < .02$	x^2=8.3, $p < .05$
HH LL	$x^{2\,HH}$=19.4, $p < .001$	$x^{2\,HH}$=18.9 $p < .001$	$x^{2\,HH}$=13.4, $p < .001$	$x^{2\,HH}$=21.2, $p < .001$	$x^{2\,HH}$=8.2, $p < .05$	
HH HL						
HH LH						
LL HL	$x^{2\,HL}$=17.2, $p < .001$	$x^{2\,HL}$=12.0, $p < .001$				
LL LH						
HL LH						

[a] This direction of response was expected to be more common in high maturity children.

[b] Differences significant at the 5% level or beyond, for 3 degrees of freedom, are shown by citing the subgroup that had the higher proportion of answers in the direction expected of high maturity children.

Table 22

"I would rather spend time with adults I like than with kids my own age."

Per Cent Agreeing with Item*

Grade 5				Grade 8				Grade 11			
Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
HH	70.9	HL	77.7	HH	76.2	HH	84.9	HH	75.0	HH	77.6
HL	70.8	HH	76.5	LH	74.4	LH	78.6	HL	75.0	HL	75.0
LH	61.5	LH	68.4	HL	57.1	HL	74.5	LH	67.6	LH	64.0
LL	40.7	LL	50.9	LL	55.8	LL	62.8	LL	55.4	LL	62.1

* Arranged from type with highest per cent agreement to type with lowest.

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Table 23

Summary of Significance of Chi Square Tests for Item:

"I participate in one or more school activities or clubs." (Agree) [a, b]

	Grade 5		Grade 8		Grade 11	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Four PSM Types Differ			x^2=6.1, $p < .02$	x^2=9.0, $p < .02$	x^2=22.1, $p < .001$	x^2=19.8, $p < .001$
HH LL					HH x^2=20.3, $p < .001$	HH x^2=17.4, $p < .001$
HH HL						
HH LH						
LL HL						
LL LH						
HL LH						

[a] This direction of response was expected to be more common in high maturity children.

[b] Differences significant at the 5% level or beyond, for 3 degrees of freedom, are shown by citing the subgroup that had the higher proportion of answers in the direction expected of high maturity children.

Table 24

"I participate in one or more school activities or clubs."

Per Cent Agreeing with the Item*

Grade 5				Grade 8				Grade 11			
Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
HH	55.0	HH	52.1	HL	71.6	HH	67.6	HH	87.2	HH	85.1
HL	50.0	LH	49.3	HH	58.6	HL	62.5	HL	75.3	HL	73.9
LL	48.2	HL	47.0	LL	56.0	LH	55.1	LH	62.0	LH	63.9
LH	36.7	LL	36.5	LH	52.1	LL	52.1	LL	58.4	LL	59.5

* Arranged from type with highest per cent agreement to type with lowest.

The Phenomenological World of the Mature Adolescent

Ruthellen Josselson

80/84

While survey analysis allows for the discovery of interlocking relationships among complex variables, individuals must, of necessity, be subordinated to the rigors of the regression equation. Because psychosocial maturity resides, ultimately, within the lone individual, studies of particular cases provide a phenomenological framework within which to understand between-group variance.

This study was undertaken as a quite deliberate fishing expedition. Our intent was to use as bait our psychosocial maturity index and to attempt to satisfy ourselves that it could indeed lure different varieties of fish. We were interested in finding out just who the high maturity teenagers are and whether and how they are different from low maturity teenagers. We wondered if we could "tell" by talking to a young person if they would be high or low on our scale -- and, if we could tell, what there was that was distinctive about him or her.

This study employs intensive interviewing to contrast the experiential and psychodynamic realities of youngsters who score at the two extremes of the psychosocial maturity scales. It attempts to look across 41 well-studied 17-year-olds for developmental paradigms which seem to predispose to the presence or absence of the traits of psychosocial maturity.

Two questions are the focus of our inquiry. First, what are the arenas in which PSM develops? Previous research informs us that the traits central to our concept of psychosocial maturity are by no means the conscious focus of adolescents' concerns. While the adolescent may learn geometry in high school, he takes no course in identity formation or social commitment. Yet, the development of these and other aspects of psychosocial maturity proceeds, albeit silently and often secretly, through adolescence.

Secondly, one cannot but wonder how the development of psychosocial maturity coincides with the theoretically derived stages of adolescent development.

One might expect, for example, that the individual low in psychosocial maturity would appear to be struggling with the early and middle adolescent issues of impulse control, sexual identity and autonomy. Similarly, the more psychosocially mature adolescent might be expected to emerge, on intensive study, as more invested in late adolescent issues of social role choices and true independence.

In order to obtain a sample of high and low maturity young people, we administered the PSM scales to 192 11th grade students in a small junior-senior high school. We then chose the 48 boys and girls with the highest and lowest combined Individual and Social Adequacy scores to be interviewed. These interviews lasted an hour, were tape recorded and later transcribed. Interview questions were open-ended and ranged from specific factual information about school programs and family members to global questions about personal goals and feelings about significant people to projective-type questions and early memories. The final sample consisted of 9 high boys, 11 low boys, 11 high girls and 10 low girls. Because of the way they were chosen, they represent a more extreme sample than the one discussed in the previous paper. The next step was to write a developmental-phenomenological portrait for each subject. These portraits were later sorted into the four groups -- high boys, low boys, high girls and low girls -- and an attempt was made to abstract the themes common to each group which distinguished it from the other groups.

Before I discuss the results of this analysis, I want to briefly describe the social world from which these subjects are drawn. The 41 young people in this sample are offspring of white, working class families. Their parents appear to be upwardly mobile and hope to realize their own frustrated economic

goals through their children. Few of the parents have more than a high school education and many have less. The low girls in our sample have the least well-educated fathers, but there are no other differences among the groups in the level of their fathers' education.

The neighborhood where these students grew up was described by several administrators and teachers in the school as "redneck" and "hardhat." The impression that one gains from the students is that it is a place where concern with material success predominates -- everyone is worried about having enough money. Fathers of these young people have jobs, not professions. Few subjects even know exactly what it is that their father does, but the boys, at least, feel pressure from their families to do better than he has.

Most of the families in this sample are intact. This is a stable community where extended family ties are prominent. There are many mothers of our subjects who work, but they appear to do this to add to the family income or, in some cases, "to get out of the house." Family size varies in the sample from an only child to a child who is one of nine siblings. Several of our youngsters have siblings who are 10 - 15 years older than they are.

Nearly all the subjects in the sample have at some time had a job. Many work after school or weekends; some who find it too difficult to keep up with schoolwork and hold a job at the same time work only in the summer. Most of these teenagers place value on being as financially independent of their parents as possible. This, however, appears to be more a community ethic than a developmental phenomenon. Having a car is extremely important to these youngsters. Often, their parents help them in purchasing a car but then insist that they pay their own upkeep and insurance. This is a kind of rite de passage to financial responsibility and our subjects often sound just like one could envision their parents as they worry over getting the money together to meet the next payment. Girls who are not interested in cars ex-

perience a similar transition with respect to buying clothes.

At this point in their development, none of these young people envision a life for themselves far different from that of their parents. When asked if they want to have the same kind of life as their same-sex parent, however, nearly all of them say no. When this is explored, it becomes clear that they wish for a different life in terms of quantity, not structure. That is, they want more money or a better job or more happiness or fewer problems. But the structure is essentially the same. Boys and girls both see themselves as either working or going to college, marrying in their early 20's and starting a family. Many of the girls speak of a wish to return to work after their children are old enough to be somewhat independent of them; they are not ideological about it, but it's all they can imagine for themselves.

In religious composition, the sample is approximately 2/3 Protestant and 1/3 Catholic. Half of our subjects are regular churchgoers and a few are extremely involved in the Church, generally through youth groups.

Politically, one can only say that these young people are apolitical, uninterested in ideology and, in large measure, uninformed. Interviews took place during the time when the Energy Crisis and the Watergate phenomena were both prominent nationally. A few subjects mentioned these as issues they had opinions about and some complained about inflation. Even those few who did express some opinion on something political were striking in their lack of any real thought or insight into the dialectics of the larger society.

Because girls a . boys face different developmental tasks at adolescence, our high and low maturity groups are most clearly in focus when viewed separately by sex. Time, however, does not permit a discussion of all four groups, so I will present the phenomenological material by emphasizing themes common to the high and low groups combining the sexes.

Low Maturity Subjects

The low maturity teenagers, both boys and girls, are, first of all, most striking in their lack of introspection and self-awareness. They are externally focused, oriented to the here and now and concerned about having things and having fun.

The phenomenological world of the low maturity boys is one filled with concern about sports, cars and motorcycles, girls and their vicissitudes, adults who yell at you, friends who like you or put you down hard, the complexities of staying out of trouble and the concomitant temptations of drink, dope and reckless driving which, for them, are the main paths to trouble. For the low girls, the world is one of girlfriends to tell -- and who had better keep secret -- about the vagaries of boyfriends and romantic intrigue, a world of dances and going shopping, a world of working hard and playing hard.

Many of the teenagers in this group appear as living stereotypes. Several of the girls are even cheerleaders. The girls present themselves as pretty, socially polished, popular, peer-oriented and, on the whole, packaged. The boys are action-focused, overinvested in the present, caught up in hypermasculine pursuits, and, as one boy put it, attempt only "to stay in shape and have a good season."

At a deeper level, a predominant theme among these 21 young people is the issue of impulse control and the need for external controls. Both the boys and the girls in the low mature group consistently look to external forces to guide their lives. At times, this takes the form of depending on others to get jobs for them or set occupational goals for them. In their free time, they often merely wait "for something to happen." They also express a great need for external restraint. For example, one girl tells us ". . . Cheerleading gives me something to do and keeps me from getting mixed up in other

things -- it keeps my grades up because if they get too low, you get suspended." Or, from another girl, "I had to convince my parents to let me go out in a car with a boy . . . I guess waiting did me good -- my friends have gotten in trouble and had to get married and I'm glad they held me back . . . if I had my own way, I'd probably be in a lot of trouble." Although they often appear rebellious in their overt behavior, the low mature adolescents are clearly grateful for parents, teachers and friends who help keep their impulses in check. They very much need to feel protected from their own temptations.

This group of teenagers is extraordinarily dependent for self-esteem on the approval of their friends. Surprisingly, it is especially the boys whose major concern is having friends, being admired by others and being liked. Boys in this group consistently emphasize having friends as a major problem teenagers must face. For both boys and girls, same-sex friendships have a self-centered quality. They don't seem to care much about their friends as people, but focus instead on what the friend can do for them -- help them out, make them feel liked, listen to their secrets and so on.

The majority of boys in this low maturity group either are currently going steady or have recently gone steady. Again, one gets little sense of the girlfriends as people or of mutual relationships. Rather, girlfriends are props serving the dual functions of interpersonal security and masculine self-definition. Sometimes the girlfriends act as additional authorities to set limits and keep them in line -- as in "I stopped drinking because my girl-friend doesn't like it."

The boys in this group are involved in complicated ongoing developmental struggles with their parents. While the family constellations of these boys vary, several consistent patterns emerge. The first is that most of them feel a strong sense of not living up to parental expectations, of having woefully disappointed at least one parent by not being what they had hoped for. For

example, one boy tells us, "My father tries to make me go to Johns Hopkins and I don't have the brains to go there, but he says, 'If you can't get the best, don't get it at all'." These boys, then, must deal with both the guilt and the narcissistic wound incurred as a result of this sense of failure, and many of them appear to have much underlying depression and a great unconscious mass of inferiority feelings.

Psychologically, the low groups, both boys and girls, are deeply embedded in their family relationships. They engage in a tug of war with their parents over rules, but their acting out often has the quality of fighting their own dependency and their own regressive needs to be taken care of. Unconsciously at least, these teenagers are both fearful and guilty about relinquishing family ties.

In terms of goals, few of the subjects in this group have much personal ambition to become something. Instead, they are uninformly focused on material things, getting a good job to be able to buy things. They seem to need to amass things around themselves in order to bolster a sagging sense of personal worth.

High Maturity Subjects

The high maturity groups, by contrast, are most striking in their greater sense of self-differentiation. These are boys and girls who are difficult to stereotype -- they are more definitively individuals and are actively striving for identity.

The psychosocial world of the high maturity teenagers has essentially the same components as does the world of the low groups. However, the relative importance of these arenas differs. The high boys are active in sports and interested in cars, as are the lows; but they are more invested in their

school work and more focused on individual activities. The high girls, in contrast to the low girls, underemphasize material things and the pursuit of pleasure and commit more of themselves to serious endeavors.

In general, one must say that the high maturity young people are distinguishable from the lows in taking themselves seriously. They are reflective and introspective; many of them found our questions similar to ones they ask themselves. They are actively striving to become and, in some ways, are self-conscious about their own growth, maintaining a watch over where they've come from and where they're heading.

For the high boys, future goals are a source of present self-esteem. They are an ambitious group -- not, perhaps, in the sense that their aspirations are so high -- but in their sense of their personal future. Although many of them have not yet chosen a particular occupation, they are clearly oriented to what they "will be" rather than what they want "to have" as the low boys are. The high boys' sense of purposefulness guides their lives in that they value good grades, saving money for the future and staying out of any trouble that might interfere with their goal.

The high girls are similarly oriented to becoming, but their arena is broader than occupational choice. They are concerned with what kind of person to become, attempting to discover who they are and who they want to be in relation to the significant others in their lives, in relation to their aspirations for themselves and in relation to their own sometimes ambivalent feelings.

In interviews with the high maturity youngsters, one notes that they frequently make statements which begin "I am the kind of person who . . ." This comment reflects their capacity to conceptualize and reflect on themselves, their ability to accept themselves as different from others while retaining the capacity to value both the self and the other. It also reflects

their struggle to commit themselves to certain aspects of the self and renounce others.

Their greater self-differentiation and future-orientation has marked effects in all areas of their lives. While they have and value same-sex friendships, they are far less dependent on their friends for approval than are the low groups. The high girls particularly express fairly objective views of people and can see others as individuals with their own needs. Both the boys and girls in the high group also tend to make use of their friends in an intimate way, to help them learn more about themselves or to help them out emotionally as well as in action.

It is interesting that few of the high boys have serious relationships with girls; few have ever gone steady. The high girls, though, do usually have boyfriends, and these tend to be older boys. Their dating puts them in contact with older peers and many are grateful to these relationships for showing them something of the world beyond their immediate high school and community.

The high youngsters repeatedly express a certain disdain for the high school, most of their peers and teenage concerns in general. As one girl put it, "I don't think most high school kids are really into life. I used to hang around in their clans. But now I'd rather be by myself and do what I want to do rather than go around and do what everyone else wants to do -- drive-ins, drink, smoke, etc."

Another theme which distinguishes most of the high maturity people from the lows is their awareness of and active mastery of internal conflict. They can, for example, experience self-doubt. They can internally deal with the problem of impulse and prohibition. Many of them, in addition, report some important past struggle -- generally a struggle over impulsivity -- but an overriding sense of having been <u>through</u> something. One particularly confident,

ambitious boy, for example, speaks of having gotten into trouble over drinking and then having "learned from my mistakes." Or, from a talented, articulate girl we hear, "I used to smoke pot and stopped. I was really hung up, but got myself out of it . . . got to the point where I was getting pretty sick of myself. My parents knew and that hurt me the most."

The parents of these youngsters are presented to us in a far more differentiated way than those of the lows. These high teenagers have empathy for their parents and see them as people. This allows them to put themselves in their parents' place and perhaps, to forgive them. As a result, there appears to be a lot less battling over rules and restrictions in these families. Our subjects appreciate that their parents set limits, see the limits as appropriate and have little need to test them. Most of them also seem to feel that their parents trust them and they do not want to violate that trust.

The young people in the high groups want to be and try to be good. They are moving slowly, not dramatically, toward independence, defining a sense of themselves along the way.

Although I could here do no more than touch on some of the outstanding phenomenological and dynamic themes distinguishing the high and low groups, let me try to summarize some of the themes and relate them to both a developmental perspective and to our concept of psychosocial maturity.

There are several unmistakable developmental differences between the high and low youngsters. The first can best be summarized as psychological complexity. While the highs can reflectively consider themselves and their own growth, the lows often find self-examination too threatening. As a result of this, the lows are focused on what is most concrete and most immediate. They attempt to lose themselves in the crowd. The high maturity youngsters, by con-

trast, strive for more abstract goals, are more able to delay gratification, and are more focused on developing as an individual. The highs have a greater tolerance for internal conflict, can tolerate more anxiety and utilize a broader range of defenses. As a result, they seem to experience more of the process that we have come to label adolescence.

Secondly, the highs appear to be at a more advanced point in the process of autonomy-individuation. They are less dependent for direction and limits either on their parents or their peers than are the lows. In general, expectations and values are internalized for the highs while they remain external for the lows.

In Eriksonian terms, the high boys can be seen as having passed through the industry stage with a strong sense of personal competence and mastery and having entered the identity stage, beginning to imagine and plan for their place in the world, ready to test their capabilities. The low boys, by contrast, seem to have prematurely abandoned the industry stage with the balance in the direction of inferiority. Feeling that they cannot do much that is worthwhile, they have a fragile sense of self, one that is easily threatened by differentness, and they try to define themselves by belonging.

It is more difficult to place the girls developmentally and I will not attempt to do so here.

How, then, does all of this enlighten our understanding of our psychosocial maturity concept? First of all, the highs exhibit the future-mindedness and goal-mindedness that underlies a commitment to work. They maintain a sense of control over their lives, can rely on their own judgment and resist group pressure. These traits, combined with their greater seriousness and self-awareness, seem to be reflected in their high Individual Adequacy Scores.

It is less clear how Social Adequacy is experienced in their lives. The

high groups show greater empathy, greater ability to tolerance differentness in others. Because they are more self-confident, they have less need to maintain vigilance about their selves and are more able to take risks with it. Their sense of well-being allows them to be sympathetic to the needs of others. The low youngsters, by contrast, maintain a fundamentally egocentric orientation, can conceptualize only what immediately impinges on them and can only react in terms of what is good for the self. These aspects of their character structure, then, seem to underlie the distinction between the highs and lows in their social commitment, tolerance and openness to change. How these traits are expressed in action in their lives, however, remains to be explored.[1]

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[1] This paper is excerpted from a longer report with the same title. The report is available on request.

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